

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 MCE-00
IGA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
HA-05 /086 W

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R 311545Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7994
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0693

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS, CI
SUBJECT: ARMS LIMITATION UNDER AYACUCHO DECLARATION

REF: STATE 015196

1. SUMMARY: CHILE CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE INTENT OF THE
AYACUCHO DECLARATION BUT WOULD NOT CONSIDER A RESUMPTION OF
THAT EFFORT VIABLE. SINCE THE LAST AYACUCHO MEETING
(SEPTEMBER 1975) THE ARMS IMBALANCE BETWEEN PERU AND CHILE
HAS WIDENED AND CHILE HAS WITHDRAWN FROM THE ANDEAN PACT.
FURTHERMORE, IN CHILEAN EYES, AYACUCHO DISCUSSIONS SUFFERED
A FATAL FLAW IN NOT INCLUDING ARGENTINA. IN ITS PRESENT
POSITION OF ARMS INFERIORITY, CHILE IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE
ANY INITIATIVE. IT PROBABLY WOULD RESPOND TO AND PARTICI-
PATE IN HEMISPHERE-WIDE LIMITATION TALKS BUT WITHOUT GREAT
EXPECTATIONS OF SUCCESS. THE GOC WOULD BE WARY OF ANY US
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INITIATIVES IN THIS AREA SO LONG AS PRESENT DISCRIMINATORY
TREATMENTS PREVAILS. END SUMMARY.

2. BACKGROUND. AYACUCHO WAS A PERUVIAN INITIATIVE. IN
RETROSPECT, THE CYNICAL CAN CLAIM THAT THE PURPOSE WAS TO
COUNTER THE FEARS AND CRITICISMS OF OTHER ANDEAN COUNTRIES
AT A PROJECTED PERUVIAN ARMS BUILDUP. THE DECLARATION IT-

SELF WAS FOLLOWED BY AN INITIAL MEETING OF EXPERTS IN LIMA IN JANUARY 1975 AND BY A SECOND MEETING OF EXPERTS IN LIMA IN JANUARY 1975 AND BY A SECOND SUCH MEETING IN SANTIAGO IN SEPTEMBER 1975, BY WHICH TIME PANAMA AND ARGENTINA HAD DROPPED BY THE WAYSIDE. A THIRD MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR LA PAZ IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1976, BUT WAS NEVER HELD. WHILE THERE HAVE BEEN OCCASIONAL INVOCATIONS OF AYACUCHO SINCE, PRIMARILY IN THE CONTEXT OF PERU/BOLIVIA/CHILE DISCUSSIONS OF THE OUTLET PROBLEM. AYACUCHO AS A FORMAL NEGOTIATION IS DEAD. THE LAST TIME THE AYACUCHO COUNTRIES GOT TOGETHER IT WAS LARGELY A CHILE/PERU SHOW. BOLIVIA DID NOT EVEN BOTHER TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES FROM LAPAZ. THE INTEREST OF VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA WAS MARGINAL. ECUADOR, ACCORDING TO LOCAL ACCOUNTS, TRUSTED THE PERUVIANS EVEN LESS THAN THE CHILEANS. NEVERTHELESS THERE WAS SOME SERIOUS AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS. PERMANENT COMMITTEES WERE ESTABLISHED TO ADDRESS, INTER ALIA: THE DEFINITION OF OFFENSIVE ARMS; THE MEASUREMENT AND COMPARISON OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES; VERIFICATION TECHNIQUES; ETC. PRESUMABLY, THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES REFERRED TO IN LIMA 0730 WAS ONE OF THE TEN COMMITTEES. LOCAL SOURCES ARE NOT AWARE THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE OR, INDEED, THAT THE COMMITTEE IS STILL MEETING.

3. OUR COMMENTS ON THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS IN REFTEL FOLLOW:

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A. THE AYACUCHO DECLARATION OF DECEMBER 1974 PLEDGED THE SIGNATORIES TO "ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT THE SETTING UP OF A PERMANENT ORDER OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND COOPERATION AND TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS THAT WILL PERMIT THE EFFECTIVE LIMITATION OF ARMS...". AS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO ESTABLISHING THE CONDITIONS FOR ARMS LIMITATIONS, THE GOC AT THE SEPTEMBER 1975 EXPERTS MEETING PRESENTED A DRAFT TREATY FOR ENSURING PEACE AMONG THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES. IT WAS ESSENTIALLY A NO WAR PLEDGE. THE PROPOSAL DROPPED INTO THE VOID. FROM THE CHILEAN PERSPECTIVE, THE CONDITIONS FOR ARMS LIMITATION HAVE SINCE DETERIORATED. THE MAJOR FACTOR HERE IS THE CONTINUED PERU ARMS BUILDUP AT A TIME WHEN CHILE IS LARGELY CUT OFF FROM ARMS PURCHASES. THERE WAS HOPE FOR A WHILE THAT A BOLIVIAN OUTLET MIGHT BE NEGOTIABLE (INDEED, TRILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AMONG PERU, BOLIVIA AND CHILE SEEM TO REPLACE AYACUCHO IN 1976 AND EARLY 1977), THUS IMPROVING THE ENVIRONMENT FOR ARMS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 0693

LIMITATION, BUT PROSPECTS HAVE SINCE DETERIORATED. AL-
THOUGH ARGENTINA SIGNED THE AYACUCHO DECLARATION IT DID
NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE TWO MEETINGS OF EXPERTS IN 1975.
FROM THE CHILEAN PERSPECTIVE NO ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT
IS POSSIBLE UNLESS IT INCLUDES ARGENTINA.

B. WE SEE LITTLE PROSPECT THAT CHILE WOULD RESPOND
FAVORABLY TO AN ATTEMPT TO REVIVE THE AYACUCHO NEGOTIATIONS
AS THEY EXISTED IN 1975 -- I.E., LIMITED TO THE SIX ANDEAN
COUNTRIES. THERE IS NO CHANCE IT WOULD INITIATE SUCH AN
EFFRT. AMONG OTHER FACTORS, SINCE 1975 CHILE HAS WITH-
DRAWN FROM THE ANDEAN PACT.

C. THE SAME LOGIC WHICH KEEPS CHILE OUT OF ARMS
LIMITATION EFFORTS WHICH DO NOT INCLUDE ARGENTINA PRESUM-
ABLY KEEPS ARGENTINA OUT OF ANY WHICH DO NOT INCLUDE
BRAZIL. FROM THE CHILEAN PERSPECTIVE, THE PROBLEM CANNOT
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BE COMPARTMENTALIZED WITHIN SOUTH AMERICA OR PERHAPS EVEN
WITHIN LATIN AMERICA. IN ITS PRESENT POSITION OF ARMS
INFERIORITY, THE GOC WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO GET INTO ANY
ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS FOR FEAR THAT, IF SUCCESS-

FUL, CURRENT DISPARITIES WOULD BE FORMALIZED AND FROZEN. HOWEVER, THE GOC WOULD HAVE A HARD TIME RESISTING INITIATIVES THAT CAME FROM, OR CLEARLY INCLUDED, BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA (AS WELL AS PERU, ECUADOR AND BOLIVIA). SO LONG AS THESE COUNTRIES ARE INCLUDED, WE SEE NO REASON FOR CHILEAN OBJECTION TO AN OAS COVER.

D. CHILE MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN A CALL FOR A LATIN AMERICA-WIDE CONFERENCE BUT WOULD NOT BE IN THE FOREFRONT.

E. CHILE WOULD VIEW WITH GREAT WARINESS ANY US INITIATIVES IN THIS AREA SO LONG AS CHILE IS ACCORDED HIGHLY DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT WITH RESPECT TO ARMS SALES AND ASSISTANCE UNDER US LEGISLATION. FROM THE CHILEAN PERSPECTIVE EQUAL ACCESS TO ARMS BOTH FROM THE US AND OTHER SOURCES IS PROBABLY ONE OF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ARMS LIMITATION IN THE AREA.

4. A CONCLUDING THOUGHT: THE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS LIMITATION IN LATIN AMERICA WILL IMPROVE IF OUTSTANDING BORDER DISPUTES CAN BE RESOLVED. THE PERU/ECUADOR CONTROVERSY AND THE ARGENTINE/CHILE BEAGLE CHANNEL PROBLEM ARE OBVIOUS CASES IN POINT. SATISFACTION OF BOLIVIA'S OUTLET ASPIRATIONS, IF ONLY BECAUSE IT WOULD PUT A BUFFER BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU, WOULD ALSO MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION. THE PROBLEM REMAINS AS CITED AT AYACUCHO: HOW TO CREAT THE CONDITIONS THAT WILL PERMIT THE EFFECTIVE LIMITATION OF ARMS.

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